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THE CARNEGIE PEACE FUND

BY PAUL S. REINSCH

MR. CARNEGIE has again astonished the world, and this time by a benefaction which is most remarkable for boldness of conception, for the ampleness and impressiveness of the object proposed and for the vow of unceasing helpfulness to man in the struggle against powerful evils from century to century. It is unprecedented that a social and political purpose should have been endowed in this manner and provided with so powerful and flexible an organization. The general aim of the Peace Fund has been announced—the gradual abolition of war and the substitution of a judicial procedure for the brutal methods of personal combat. The details of approaching this purpose and realizing it have yet to be worked out. That such an enterprise should be established by an American citizen, that so powerful an organization for effecting an ideal purpose should originate on American soil, is a new proof of that national optimism which not only animates the conduct and philosophy of life of our people, but which has been the guiding force in our national foreign policy. All advances toward the restriction of war within narrower limits, and the solution of international difficulties by rational means, have found their strongest advocate in the American Government and people.

The programme of action to be followed by the board of trustees has not yet been elaborated. Without prejudging in any way the work of the Peace Fund, it is, therefore, possible at the present time to consider the promise as well as the limitations of such a vast undertaking as the present one. This organization may be developed so as to be a force of the greatest importance in our national life and in our relations with other countries. It is, therefore, natural that the general public should be interested in it and

that publicists should consider the bearings of this establishment upon our national affairs and policies.

The old style of peace propaganda, which looked upon war as an evil entity to be fought against with imprecations and resolutions of congresses, is no longer effective. People give little heed to abstract arguments against war, which rest upon a quietist desire to tone down the vigor of life. The dominant note of our age is energism, and it is only constructive work and strenuous effort that command attention. The display of energy in warlike preparation, therefore, has its attractiveness, which can be counteracted only by pointing out some other constructive work in which the energies of mankind may manifest themselves to a higher purpose. The character of the men selected to form the board of trustees gives assurance that they will not be satisfied with theoretical propaganda. They are men of wide practical experience, and, as is apparent from the public expressions of some of them, they realize that the first requirement for a successful movement against the evils of war lies in a thorough understanding of the conditions of which war is merely a symptom.

Complete abandonment to the ideal of world-wide peace as immediately realizable would be fatuous. In the age in which we live the world still has many basic problems to solve in which the terrible arbitrament of war may be invoked. We need only remember that such fundamental questions as the distribution of the surface of the globe between the different peoples and races has not as yet been entirely settled. When there is a question as to what nation shall have the right to people a region with its sons, to till its fields and to develop its resources, conflict may transcend the limits of peaceable settlement, as in the controversy between Japan and Russia in the Far East. Another illustration—intentionally remote, but none the less indicating the seriousness of such issues—would occur should one of the South-American States—for example, Peru—try to exclude Oriental immigration and be confronted with a categorical demand to leave its doors open. A nation with important foreign interests is, therefore, bound to consider whether any position taken by it is such as can be maintained. A foreign policy is to-day inconceivable without a readiness to accept responsibility; and, unless we were to assume that the American nation is only playing at foreign

politics, it certainly follows that a Government which is responsible for the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine, which is pledged to the policy of the open door in the Far East, which has insular and outlying possessions to guard, including the great interoceanic highway of the Panama Canal, not to mention innumerable commercial interests, must needs give attention to the problems of self-defence. Under modern conditions, too, warlike action has often been prevented by the knowledge that military disturbances would be unsuccessful on account of the superior preparedness and organization of the eventual adversary. We need only think of recent affairs in the Balkan region. All this, of course, does not detract by one iota from the force of the principle that the best defence of nations is a policy of justice, nor from the patent fact that the present race for armaments borders on insanity and is driving the civilized nations into bankruptcy occasioned by the unproductive expenditure of public resources. There is, therefore, a great work to do, and the Peace Fund is strong enough to achieve objects that would elude efforts less carefully organized and less abundantly supplied with means. The president of the Second Hague Conference spoke of the idea of universal peace as a "bright star which will always guide us, but which we shall never reach." This is not the motto of the Carnegie Peace Fund. On the contrary, it is built upon the firm belief that universal peace and universal lawfulness are the only rational aims of human evolution which will surely be attained, though after much sacrifice. It is the aim of the institution to diminish this sacrifice and to allow this great and necessary purpose toward which civilization is tending to work itself out at less cost to humanity than if forces were left blindly to find their way. Human constructive statesmanship cannot bend the course of social evolution, but, perceiving that a certain goal is inevitable, it may greatly shorten and smooth the road to it which mankind has to travel.

While the men who are the responsible repositories of this trust may be confidently expected to select modes of action, both practical and fruitful, it yet seems appropriate at the present time for the public to consider what methods may advantageously be pursued in the furtherance of this great object. The work of any men or group of men engaging in social work naturally falls under three aspects: study,

propaganda and action. It often happens, however, that those who study and have a command of the real facts in the case abstain from action, while those who make propaganda have given very little attention to scientific investigation. It is a great advantage of the Carnegie Peace Fund that the extent of its means permits of activities in all three directions so that one branch of its work may be informed and guided by the results obtained in another.

It is natural that at the beginning of an undertaking of this kind especial emphasis should be placed upon the careful scientific study of the field of action. While the subject of war has been investigated by many competent authorities, there has never before been provided an organization which could study its vast and complex phenomena in all their details through co-operative effort, with the result that accurate and complete determinations would give finality to the conclusions reached. Thus a great service would be performed by a scientific study of all the ramified causes of war, by mapping out, as it were, the etiology of war. War is not a compact entity, but a resultant from many complex phases of human life and experience. Certain causes which formerly produced war, such as dynastic interest, are no longer operative. The growing democracy of nations has not, as was originally expected, reduced the danger of war, but has added other impulses which may provoke hostility. It would appear that some of these causes could be studied with considerable scientific exactness. We could then distinguish between the more adventitious and the more fundamental causes, could direct our attention to the elimination of the former, and thereafter to the improvement of those more basic conditions which still foster malevolence and bitter hostility.

Biological and physiological science also has its contribution to make in securing for us a sound basis for a judgment on war. One of the most potent arguments made in behalf of the virtues of war is that this "iron tonic" of mankind keys up national life to a high level of efficiency and that military training and combat have an invigorating effect upon physique and character. Detailed scientific investigation ought to determine the actual effects of military life and action upon the physical and intellectual development of the race. In this connection complete and accurate data should also be secured as to the loss in human material in-

flicted upon civilization by periodical blood-letting on a vast scale—a subject of investigation already suggested by a prominent biologist. These considerations are allied to others which include in their scope the various phases of human character and intellect, and which would ascertain with exactness whether the special fitness cultivated by military training and the sacrifice made in actual war are compatible with the development of those types of efficiency which the standards of modern life require. In a word, the question concerns the relation of warlike activities to personal and social efficiency from the point of view of the most essential demands made by modern civilization.

While the argument that war is costly will not be completely effective so long as conditions exist which may at times render war inevitable, yet it is desirable that mankind should be definitely informed as to the sacrifice it is making annually and permanently in defraying the cost of military preparation and of actual hostilities. This investigation is so vast that no individual could undertake it; it requires co-operative methods, the detailed study of each branch of the subject and a final synthesis of all the results thus obtained. In connection with the direct cost of warfare, investigations might also be made into the effect of war upon commerce and industry so that some adequate conception might be formed of the incidental loss inflicted by the great wars of the last century. The entire connection of high finance with the conduct of wars is of the greatest importance. If we could once clearly see to what an extent success in war to-day depends upon financial arrangements, it would become evident that armed combat has, to a large extent, lost its original meaning as a contest between national groups, that it is an anomalous condition influenced by a multitude of forces which lie beyond national control, and that in the nature of things it cannot withstand the movement of our day for the world-wide organization of economic and industrial life. Should wars become the means by which international capitalistic combinations play their game, the arguments upon which the defence of war at the present time rest would largely lose their force. The study of military operations would probably lead to the same conclusion. The processes of war have become highly technical and combats are decided by the mastery of forces which transcend the human material employed. Recent wars have

shown how little avails the courage, the warlike *élan* of bodies of men like the Cossacks, where technical control and intellectual grasp is weak. But these technical matters are not altogether national; they are part of a world-wide science.

Investigations amply supported and patiently pursued will form the basis of an intelligent propaganda and of an effective influence upon international development. The public is, of course, most interested to know what direction the action of a powerful agency like this will take. Though animated with a social purpose than which no higher can be conceived, this is, after all, a private organization. It may, therefore, be assumed, with safety, that it will abstain from interference in diplomatic negotiations, prejudging in any way the responsible action of the Government. Any other course might at times become exceedingly embarrassing to those in whose hands the conduct of our foreign affairs is placed. They bear the responsibility; it is for them to choose the time and place for the urging of national policies even when the broadest questions of civilization are involved. But, on the other hand, there can be no doubt of the advantage to be gained by our Government in informing itself through the results gained by this institution and, if need be, in co-operating with it to bring about great national purposes. Similar considerations apply with respect to national legislation. It is essential that in combating the conditions which threaten humanity with wasteful war the world-wide character of these should be appreciated. Advance must rest upon the general improvement of the situation and upon a mutual understanding between the great powers. While it is, therefore, a part of real patriotism to insist that our foreign policy shall be pervaded with a spirit of justice, it would not be right to deny our Government those instruments for supporting its action in international affairs which those whom we hold responsible for the success or failure of our national policy may consider indispensable. But within these limitations there still remains a wide field in which legislative action may be informed and influenced, and more still may be obtained by securing joint measures on the part of the principal countries of the world.

Having considered the limitations which conditions seem to impose upon an organization of this kind, let us glance at some of the modes of action that hold out a rich promise

of betterment. The only way in which war can be combated effectually is by discouraging those motives and impulses which from time to time lead to international hostility. The reverse of this proposition is that all those relations should be encouraged which draw men together and form between them a bond of mutual understanding. It is in this matter that the American people are especially in need of a broader outlook. Our national purposes and ideals are generous; we have high criteria of public conduct and abiding confidence in our institutions, but we are less prone to give credit to other countries for also working for the advance of civilization. A great deal may be done to overcome this provincialism. This would not be direct peace propaganda, but it would be even more effectual. The dogmas of pacificism already are abundantly familiar, and when they are formally brought forward they are usually discounted by the hearers. But a far different result is produced when American audiences come in contact with representative men from Europe and Asia, when they hear from their lips ideas which coincide with our own best purposes, and when they are made to feel that the problems which we are struggling with, the enthusiasm which warms our hearts, are shared by these men from distant lands. Whatever can be done to promote this mutual knowledge will, therefore, be a most effective aid in achieving the work of this institution. A French gentleman has established a fund for defraying the expenses of groups of young men who are annually sent around the world and who, upon their return, have to make a report containing their observations. It is an interesting fact that among the most notable younger publicists in France, those most conversant with foreign affairs, several have received their first training through this opportunity. The establishment of scholarships held by foreign authorities, and of travelling fellowships based upon the idea that the recipients are to make an especial effort to understand the civilizations with which they come in contact, would, therefore, be a fruitful enterprise for this or any other similar institution. Much might also be accomplished by encouraging great meetings, such as the Universal Races Congress which is to be held in London in July, where all the countries of the world are to be represented. Wherever organizations or institutions are already carrying on the work of providing a better inter-

national understanding co-operation might readily be established with most beneficial results. It is also important that in all of our American universities and larger colleges there should be maintained at least one professorship of international law and foreign affairs, to the end that the intelligence of the rising generation be broadened so as to comprise within its interests the development of humanity and civilization in other lands. Before we can have a real unity of the world strong enough to counteract local sentiments, differences, and hostilities, there must be created that psychic unity which involves a deep mutual interest and a sympathetic understanding among all the nations of the world. This is promoted only in a superficial manner by occasional congresses; it must be made to enter into the daily life of our populations.

A most useful work might be accomplished in combating the nefarious sensationalism that blemishes so large a portion of the daily press. Under present conditions, we usually receive in the newspapers the most distorted and exaggerated versions of what is going on in other countries. Although conditions have improved somewhat of late, the manner in which foreign affairs are reported to the public is not a compliment to its intelligence. An adequate treatment of the great developments in foreign countries would surely arouse a deep and intelligent interest among our people. No greater benefit could be conferred upon the reading public in America and in the world at large than if there were stationed in each one of the leading capitals and commercial centres highly trained journalists who would study in an impartial way everything bearing on temper and action in international affairs. These men ought not to be propagandists, but calm and trained observers upon whose reports implicit reliance could be placed. A most important service might be performed in this connection at times of international crises and misunderstandings. At such times the sensational tendencies of the press are uppermost, while nothing is more essential than to have a clear impartial account of facts and situations. Such reporting would often remove the cause of misunderstanding and might be instrumental in preventing unnecessary wars. It is all-important that the seriousness of war should be appreciated and that there should be laid before the public at a critical time not only an impartial report of the grounds of conflict, but

also some indication of what would be involved in taking the fatal step.

Throughout the work of an institution of this kind would be successful, in a measure, as it would seek out and assist those forces which are already making for international co-operation. It is a notable fact that contemporaneous with the vast increase in armaments, there has gone in the last decades a no less surprising development of positive international organization. I do not here refer only to peace congresses, but primarily to international groups or unions formed for considering and developing those world-wide relations by which any particular economic or cultural interest may be affected. Already there have been founded no less than one hundred and fifty such unions; over thirty of these are composed of States and are, therefore, authoritative and public in their action. A great work may be done at the present time in correlating these mutually independent efforts and institutions, in ascertaining which may co-operate more directly and in elaborating an organization which could mediate between them or include them all, giving to each its proper sphere. This is a question not to be worked out with reference to any theory, but from a study of the actual operations of these unions and of the needs of the interests which they represent. Towards bringing about this co-operation an institution like the Carnegie Peace Fund may contribute a great deal. But there is another manner in which it could be very useful. Most of these unions are supplied with a public budget just sufficient for carrying on their ordinary operations. They find it, however, more difficult to undertake special investigations of a comprehensive nature which may, nevertheless, be necessary for the proper development of their work: here a great and wealthy institution might effectually come to their assistance. Just as an example, it might be impossible for the International Agricultural Institute, with the means at its disposal, to carry on an exhaustive inquiry into the question of agricultural co-operation; or, again, the Pan-American Union might desire to investigate, in all its details, some problem like the improvement of the international commercial mechanism. By working through and in conjunction with these existing institutions the Carnegie Peace Fund would give substance to its work in strengthening those practical lines of activity which are already

doing much to bring about the realization of its main purpose. It is also possible that new lines of international co-operation might be developed; thus, for example, a plan or project for a treaty on concerted action by the police of different countries, not only in the extradition of criminals, but in the prevention of crime, extending the idea which is now partially applied in connection with the white-slave trade.

The international unions, while engaged in the important work of preparing the future organization of the world, have not as yet been sufficiently noticed by the general public. In national congresses they often have no friends, so that their appropriations are small and granted grudgingly. Looking over the pages of the "Congressional Record" in which some discussion of appropriations of this kind is reported, one will find that in general very little is known about the work of these unions, so that their needs are either taken on faith or provisions are made in the spirit of granting to some favored gentlemen an international junket. As nations and parliaments become more acquainted with the useful work performed by these organizations they will be more liberal in their support, all of which would react favorably upon the strength of the entire peace movement. It is here that the Carnegie Peace Fund can perform a real service in bringing before the world the true meaning of the international organization that has already been created and in assisting the unions in securing the financial and moral support which is essential to the proper performance of their work.

A most promising field of action will be found in making the leaders of the financial and industrial world conscious of the manner in which war obstructs and interferes with the development of their interests, which are in essence worldwide. Moreover, the unproductive investment of vast sums of money in armaments is a matter of great concern to the men who are responsible for the economic efficiency of national life. It ought to be comparatively easy to organize a strong and influential sentiment among these classes in favor of the policy of confining war more and more to the combatants and exempting from it the activities of commerce, industry and transportation. Judging from the composition of the board of trustees of the Carnegie Peace Fund, these possibilities were in the mind of the donor. He

has not selected primarily propagandists, but men of action; and, moreover, men who are in touch with those interests and social activities in which the greatest practical question to-day is efficient international organization.

After reading the records and reports of such organizations as the Interparliamentary Peace Union or the Universal Peace Congress, one would not be at a loss to pick out a programme of abundant activity for a great organization like the one we are discussing. Many of the things suggested cannot be carried out by the means at the disposal of these bodies. Thus the last Peace Congress, at Stockholm, recommended the study of projects for the limitation of armaments. This subject is, indeed, in need of a most patient preliminary investigation. When first proposed as a policy in recent conferences, it could not as yet be supported by arguments based upon a comprehensive knowledge of the actual facts both as to existing conditions and as to feasible policies. All the alternatives suggested as a basis of limitation should be studied in their connection and bearing upon national development throughout the world in order that a plan might be selected against which the strong arguments thus far advanced could not successfully be urged. In our present era such matters cannot be decided on the spur of the moment or on the basis of generous intentions. They must be supported by the most convincing exposition of a definite plan adapted to the exact situation in which nations find themselves. The proportionate reduction or limitation of armaments is undoubtedly a policy which the world will soon have to accept in order to avoid universal bankruptcy. No greater service could be rendered than the production of a report which would form the basis of an unassailable plan for such limitation. The Carnegie Peace Fund is in a position to do for future conferences the kind of work performed by Sir Thomas Barclay in his excellent report on Problems of International Practice. If one scholar could produce a work so useful, we may, indeed, hope for very comprehensive and convincing reports from this institution in the way of preparatory studies that may be utilized by international conferences. It may also furnish information that will influence the action of national legislatures. Bearing in mind the limitations pointed out above, there nevertheless remains a broad field for this activity. Let us but consider the manner in which the

neutrality laws may be developed for the purpose of confining hostilities strictly to the combatant powers and not allowing either of them to gain strength or resources from the neutral nations. It is very desirable that neutrality laws should be extended so as to make it unlawful to advertise and sell, during the progress of a war, bonds intended to furnish the means for carrying on the struggle. The idea of neutralization should also be further developed by treaty, together with the exemption from military action of the ordinary processes of commerce. Thus the suggestions that certain straits and railways be neutralized, that contraband be limited to specifically military articles, that blockade be restricted to fortified places, are in line with that rational policy of freeing from the effects of war those pursuits in which the whole world has an interest.

It still remains for us to speak of what for the present is certainly the crowning work of international activity. If nations are to subject themselves to the jurisdiction of international tribunals, they have a right to be assured that the law to be enforced by these courts accords with the highest conception of equity and justice held by modern mankind. The working out of a model international code is, therefore, the foremost task which any institution or group of men at the present time can undertake in this field. A number of notable efforts have, indeed, already been made in this direction. America has contributed the code of David Dudley Field and the military laws of Francis Lieber. More recently the Government of Brazil, in contemplation of a meeting of jurists soon to be held in Rio de Janeiro, has had codes of public and international law prepared. A Canadian lawyer has just published a code, and the Universal Peace Congress at its last session received a project elaborated by M. Emile Arnaud. The American Association of International Law has appointed a committee to make preparatory studies with respect to an international law code. All these efforts have contributed to clarify ideas with respect to what may be attainable in the way of international legislation. The means and organization of the Peace Foundation will enable it to take a leading part in furthering this work. In order to be adequate, a codification should rest upon a comprehensive, detailed and scientific study of precedent in diplomacy and arbitration, as well as of the legal doctrines elaborated by the authorities. It

should be based on a thorough knowledge of existing practice in all the branches of international relations; but it should also suggest and develop principles in which account is taken of the new forces that have come into the life of the world in our own era. A combination of patient inquiry, of scientific exactness and of constructive ability is called for in order to assure an adequate result. One sentence or clause in the completed code may be the outcome of years of investigation and thought; only after accurate scholarship has thoroughly collected and digested all precedents, after constructive minds have made a synthesis of all these results, will statesman-like action have at hand the materials for making a code that will command the respect of the world.

We might continue indefinitely, following out new lines of investigation, propaganda and action which an institution of this kind might undertake. Contemporary internationalism comprises all the interests and activities of civilized life, and work for the advancement of peaceful relations may be done in many fields at first sight remote from the main purpose. Yet, perhaps enough has been said to indicate that even a vast institution provided with ample resources, such as the Carnegie Peace Fund, will find itself fully occupied in following out only a few of the many lines of activity through which the generous purpose of its founder, which accords also with the highest aim of our modern civilization, may be advanced and turned from hope and aspiration into accomplished fact.

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